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Escuela Superior Clemente

Microcosmo de Nuestra Comunidad-

Un Barril de Pólvora Esperando para Explotar

CHICAGO—En las pasadas semanas la escuela superior Roberto Clemente ha sido el escenario de grandes luchas estudiantiles. Salidas de estudiantes, piquetes, mítines y boicots han sido la orden del día. La escuela, que por quince años se pensaba que estaba dormida, ha probado ser un barril de pólvora esperando para explotar.

La escuela superior Clemente está ubicada en medio de la comunidad de West Town/Humboldt Park la cual esta siendo "gentrificada" (gentrified) rápidamente. A pesar de esta "gentrificación", todavía se le considera el corazón de la comunidad puertorriqueña de Chicago. La comunidad, que antes era altamente derimida economicamente se ha convertido en un foco de lucha entre las familias pobres puertorriqueñas, que no tienen a donde irse y los modernos colonizadores blancos y los especuladores de bienes raíces, quienes quieren restaurar la comunidad a su "esplendor" Victoriano del siglo XIX.

En muchas formas, la escuela Clemente es un microcosmo de la realidad que nuestro pueblo ha sido forzado a enfrentar dondequiera que nos hemos establecido. Por un lado, está un sistema que discrimina, que motiva la ausencia de la escuela sin permiso y que empuja a nuestros niños fuera de la escuela, en otras palabras, que nos marginaliza. Por el otro lado están los otros problemas, los auto-inflingidos, como las drogas, las gangas y el suicidio de adolescentes, que son el reflejo del fenómeno que Fanon describió tan bien en su libro **Los Condenados de la Tierra** cuando dice *...el hombre colonizado manifestará esta agresividad que ha sido depositada en sus huesos, contra su propia gente. Este es el periodo cuando los negros ("niggers") se golpean unos a otros y la policia...no sabe que hacer con la alarmante óla de crímenes...*

*Pablo Vilar/ **La Patria Radical***

A pesar del hostigamiento por parte de la policia y los administradores, los estudiantes han demostrado una creatividad extraordinaria en su capacidad organizativa, practicamente paralizando la escuela por más de dos semanas. Marcos Vilar, un activista comunal fue arrestado por ayudar una estudiante que la policia atacaba.

Este es el microcosmo de nuestra realidad puertorriqueña llamada a Academia Comunitaria Escuela Superior Roberto Clemente. Ahí podemos observar tanto el marginamiento de nuestros estudiantes por un sistema educativo que los encamina hacia trabajos sin sentido ó hacia el ejército, como los maestros racistas cuyas espectativas y visión de nuestros estudiantes son tan bajas que los programan, aunque sea inconcientemente, para el fracaso. La auto-estima de nuestros estudiantes es distorcionada por el sistema educativo y por la sociedad en su conjunto, lo que resulta en estudiantes que encuentran significado y sentido en pertenecer al oscuro mundo de las drogas y las gangas.

Muchos estudios sobre niños tercermundistas en los EU indican que ellos internalizan un sentido de baja auto-estima desde muy temprano en sus vidas. Por ejemplo, un estudio reciente conducido en la ciudad de Nueva York en agosto del 1987 concluyó que *...la mayoria de las niñas negras de edad pre-escolar todavía prefieren muñecas blancas a las muñecas negras, como lo hicieron en el famoso estudio del 1947.* Los maestros y las escuelas pueden desempeñar un papel muy importante en proveer un ambiente que combata este problema, en vez de aumentarlo con el tipo de racismo sutíl

(Véase página 2)

1ra Conferencia sobre la Campaña de Derechos Humanos Una Gran Victoria

NUEVA YORK—La primera conferencia de la Campaña Internacional de los Derechos Humanos celebrada en esta ciudad el día 1ro de octubre fue un gran éxito. Alrededor de 88 representantes de los prisioneros políticos y prisioneros de guerra puertorriqueños, nuevo africanos, norteamericanos y nativo-americanos estuvieron presentes y hablaron a nombre de todos los prisioneros políticos en las prisiones de los Estados Unidos.

Tanto Puerto Rico como los puertorriqueños en los Estados Unidos estuvieron ampliamente representados.

La campaña definió como prisionero político a toda persona en prisión por *actos, asociación o creencia en favor de la auto-determinación para las personas oprimidas por su sexualidad, raza y nacionalidad, en contra de la política del exterior y militarista de los Estados Unidos y sus corporaciones que contribuyen al empobrecimiento, sufrimiento y represión de los pobres y de la clase obrera y las personas oprimidas por su origen nacional y raza.*

El término también fue aplicado a aquellos que están en las prisiones simplemente por sus creencias políticas y sus afiliaciones y por tomar acciones políticas que violan las leyes de los Estados Unidos. El termino también fue aplicado a aquellos que han asumido la posición de prisioneros de guerra y que tienen derecho a esa consideración bajo la Convención de Ginebra y sus Protocolos I y II.

El mismo incluye, "prisioneros sociales" a quienes se les ha dado extensas condenas y se les ha negado su libertad, o que son blancos de la represión porque han protestado y resistido las condiciones inhumanas dentro de las prisiones y la sociedad.

Los conferenciantes hicieron dos excepciones a estas definiciones: las mismas no cubren...*aquellos encontrados culpables por racismo, sexismo, anti-semitismo u otras formas de discrimen.* Tampoco incluye aquellos que actúan en apoyo al gobierno de los Estados Unidos y su política militarista, ni a los contras en América Central u otro lugar. La campaña también se limita en actuar a favor de aquellos que están en prisiones de los Estados Unidos.

En las sesiones de la mañana, la conferencia aprobó un amplio llamado para la amnistía para todos los prisioneros políticos en los EU y para terminar la violación continua de sus derechos humanos.

Los talleres de la tarde fueron relacionados con la investigación y compilación de documentos sobre los prisioneros, aspectos legales a nivel nacional e internacional, la situación de las mujeres en las prisiones, los cuestionamientos éticos a los cuales se enfrenta la iglesia, el papel de los profesionales, y sobre como sostener una campaña informativa dirigida a educar la comunidad americana internacional.

Una segunda reunión fue llamada para el 10 de diciembre, después de una conferencia de prensa el 9 de diciembre. El comité coordinador interino que or-

(Véase página 2)

Se Celebra Grito de Dolores en el Territorio Liberado de Tierra Amarilla, Nuevo Mexico

La Tierra le Pertenece a Quienes la Trabajan...

TIERRA AMARILLA—*¡Tierra ó Muerte! ¡La Tierra le pertenece a quienes la trabajan!* Estas fueron las consignas que resonaron el 17 de septiembre en la Colonia José María Martínez en Tierra Amarilla, Nuevo México. La ocasión fue el aniversario de la independencia de México de España y para crear unidad con la lucha de liberación nacional mexicana en el primer "territorio liberado" en México ocupado.

La Colonia es parte de la tierra que está en contienda entre la familia de Amador Flores, quienes han trabajado y se han hecho dueños de la tierra por más de 20 años, el **Movimiento de Liberación Nacional-Mexicano (MLN-M)** y el pueblo mexicano de Tierra Amarilla por un lado, y por el otro lado, un grupo de especuladores que quieren explotar la tierra para sus propios fines financieros.

Más de setenta personas asistieron a la actividad incluyendo miembros del **Comité en Solidaridad con el Pueblo Salvadoreño**, el **Pledge of Resistance**, el **Comité John Brown Contra el Klan**, el **Comité ¡Puerto Rico Libre!**, el **Comité de Defensa Popular de México (CDP)** y el **Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueño (MLN-PR)** como también un portavoz del ex-gobernador del estado de Nuevo México, Robert Mondragón y el Concilio de Mayores de la Colonia José María Martínez.

Pedro Archuleta y Ricardo Romero, los organizadores principales de la actividad y fundadores del **MLN-M**, presentaron un resumen informativo de la lucha por la tierra en el territorio ocupado. Hablaron también de los derechos humanos del pueblo mexicano a su auto-determinación y auto-defensa y reiteraron que...*las victorias obtenidas hasta ahora en la Colonia han sido posibles debido a la posición armada de quienes resisten encarando la represión.*

Gabino Gómez del CDP presentó un análisis histórico de la lucha de liberación nacional del pueblo mexicano. El compañero Gómez explicó un poco sobre la situación volatil en México después de la incidencia de fraude en las recientes elecciones y terminó su presentación reafirmando el derecho del pueblo mexicano que reside en el territorio ocupado a luchar por la reunificación socialista de México.

El ex-prisionero político Félix Rosa tuvo uso de la palabra en nombre del **MLN-PR**. El compañero Rosa declaró que...*la cuestión primordial aquí no es quien tiene el título a la tierra, sino quien tiene el derecho histórico a la tierra*...y que...*el pueblo mexicano que reside en el territorio ocupado tiene el derecho a luchar y defender ese derecho.*

La actividad terminó con un llamado hecho por los compañeros Ricardo Romero y Pedro Archuleta a toda persona progresista y amante a la libertad que expresaran su solidaridad concreta con la lucha de liberación nacional mexicana y que apoyaran el derecho del pueblo mexicano a su auto-determinación y auto-defensa.

Para más información ó para enviar sus donaciones/contribuciones llame al 505/588-7736 en Tierra Amarilla ó al 303/839-5366 en Denver, Colorado.

LUCHA COMUNITARIA...

claramente expresado por tres maestros de la Clemente en la edición del 22 de enero, 1988, del periódico ***The Reader***.

Como resultado de la ira de la comunidad, los tres maestros que hicieron los comentarios racistas y ofensivos, fueron transferidos a otras escuelas, uno de los maestros, la bibliotecaria de la escuela, Kay Thompson, demandó a la Junta de Educación, y un juez racista ordenó que se le permitiera regresar a la escuela en septiembre, ignorando los deseos de nuestra comunidad y los mejores intereses de nuestros jovenes.

Fue este artículo lo que despertó la ira de la comunidad y mas recientemente, las luchas en la Clemente. Los comentarios racistas, que aparecieron en forma de entrevista y que cubrieron toda la gama, desde la vida cotidiana de los estudiantes hasta sus prácticas sexuales, es un regreso a las nociones de la supremacía blanca de los colonos europeos respecto a los "nativos". Por ejemplo, la concepción de Kay Thompson sobre la sexualidad entre nuestra juventud lo reduce a un comportamiento irracional, primitivo y bestial—el estereotipado concepto del "nativo" supersexual. Otro ejemplo de sus actitudes y nociones racistas es su visión del grupito de estudiantes con que ella prefiere relacionarse—principalmente el llamado estudiante excepcional. Este grupito "élite" que ella ha escojido ayudar está compuesto por aquellos que han rechazado su puertorriqueñidad y se han asimilado totalmente a la sociedad dominante en la tradición del "nativo" que colaboraba con los colonizadores.

Estudiantes, padres, maestros y algunas organizaciones comunitarias se han organizado en la **Coalición Contra el Racismo en Clemente** y han comenzado una campaña con un propósito dual: el despido inmediato de Kay Thompson y la transformación de la escuela Clemente en una escuela model, bilingüe y multicultural con un contenido que refleje las necesidades, preocupaciones y temas generativos de la comunidad predominantemente puertorriqueña de West Town/Humboldt Park. La Roberto Clemente debe ser una escuela en la cual los maestros, estudiantes, padres y residentes de la comunidad puedan participar democráticamente en la gobernación de la escuela y en la determinación de su currículo que debe estar basado sobre un proceso pedagógico de pensamiento crítico, auto-determinación y empoderamiento. Esta escuela debe tomar en cuenta las necesidades y preocupaciones de todos los estudiantes, sin importar el color de su piel ó nacionalidad.

En cuestión, por supuesto, está el futuro de la Clemente y de los estudiantes a que esta sirve. Como están las cosas, esta escuela bota ó pierde casi el 80% de sus estudiantes (por ejemplo en 1984 la clase entrante en la Clemente fue de 1200 estudiantes, sin embargo, en 1988 tan sólo 264 se graduaron) y allí abundan las drogas y la actividad de las gangas. El ambiente de la escuela se caracteriza por baja asistencia a clases y la baja moral de la facultad que Kay Thompson describiera como "un mundo gris".

La lucha en la Clemente debe ser vista como parte de una lucha mas amplia para el empoderamiento de nuestra comunidad. Como resultado, la escuela superior Clemente puede convertirse en una escuela modelo donde pueda darse un proceso educativo verdaderamente humano, donde los "gris" y la falta de esperanza que experimentan estos maestros cínicos y racistas se cambie por una experiencia educativa dinámica, llena de colorido y liberadora. Este proceso podría detener la invasión de los "yuppies" blancos, quienes como los colonizadores del ayer, asedián nuestra comunidad e intentan sacar a los "nativos" de aquí.

DERECHOS HUMANOS...

ganizó la conferencia fue elegido para continuar con el trabajo hasta que nuevas elecciones se lleven a cabo en diciembre. En la reunión se espera producir un programa para la campaña.

A pesar de las dudas de algunos participantes u otras personas de que la campaña era muy amplia y de que traería conflictos entre personas que nunca antes habían trabajado unidos, la conferencia vino a hacer un modelo de unidad y fraternidad dentro de un grupo de fuerzas cuya principal preocupación es excarcelar a todos los prisioneros políticos y exponer los abusos cometidos por las autoridades en contra de los prisioneros políticos y sociales.

En vez del negativismo y las agendas escondidas que han caracterizado la historia de las coaliciones amplias, los participantes demostraron una gran capacidad de preocupación y altruísmo o ausencia de egoismo, que dejó entusiasmado a todo el mundo al finalizar cada día.

El esfuerzo de alimentar, albergar y proveer para las necesidades de los participantes fue extraordinario y la cooperación y solidaridad fue la orden del día.

En el espíritu democrático del proyecto, la dirección fue delegada a seis personas diferentes y cada participante tuvo la oportunidad de expresarse. Los resultados de cada uno de los talleres fueron debatidos ante la asamblea en general y la aprobación de los informes de los talleres fue unánime.

Ninguno de los documentos de discusión producidos por cada uno de los talleres serán convertidos en documentos oficiales hasta la conferencia de diciembre. Los conferencientes acordaron en continuar la expansión de la campaña hasta que todos los prisioneros políticos sean incluídos, asi como otras fuerzas dentro de la vida política y social del país.

¡SAQUEMOS LA LUCHA DE LAS URNAS A LA CALLE! ¡NO VOTES! ¡ORGANIZATE Y LUCHA!

Comandante Filiberto Ojeda-Ríos Se Declara Fundador de los Macheteros

LARES—El viernes 23 de septiembre, durante la conmemoración del 120 aniversario del Grito de Lares, el Comandante Filiberto Ojeda Ríos se proclamó como uno de los fundadores del **Ejército Popular Boricua-Macheteros.**

¡Fui uno de los fundadores de los Macheteros! ¡Soy Machetero! ¡Y seré Machetero hasta el día en que todos juntos logremos conquistar la victoria y libertad plena! señalo en su mensaje que envió a través del **Frente Anti-Electoral (FAE)** del cual él es su Portavoz Internacional.

Una multitud de independentistas—calculada por la prensa comercial en más de 10 mil personas—se dió cita en Lares desde las horas tempranas de la madrugada.

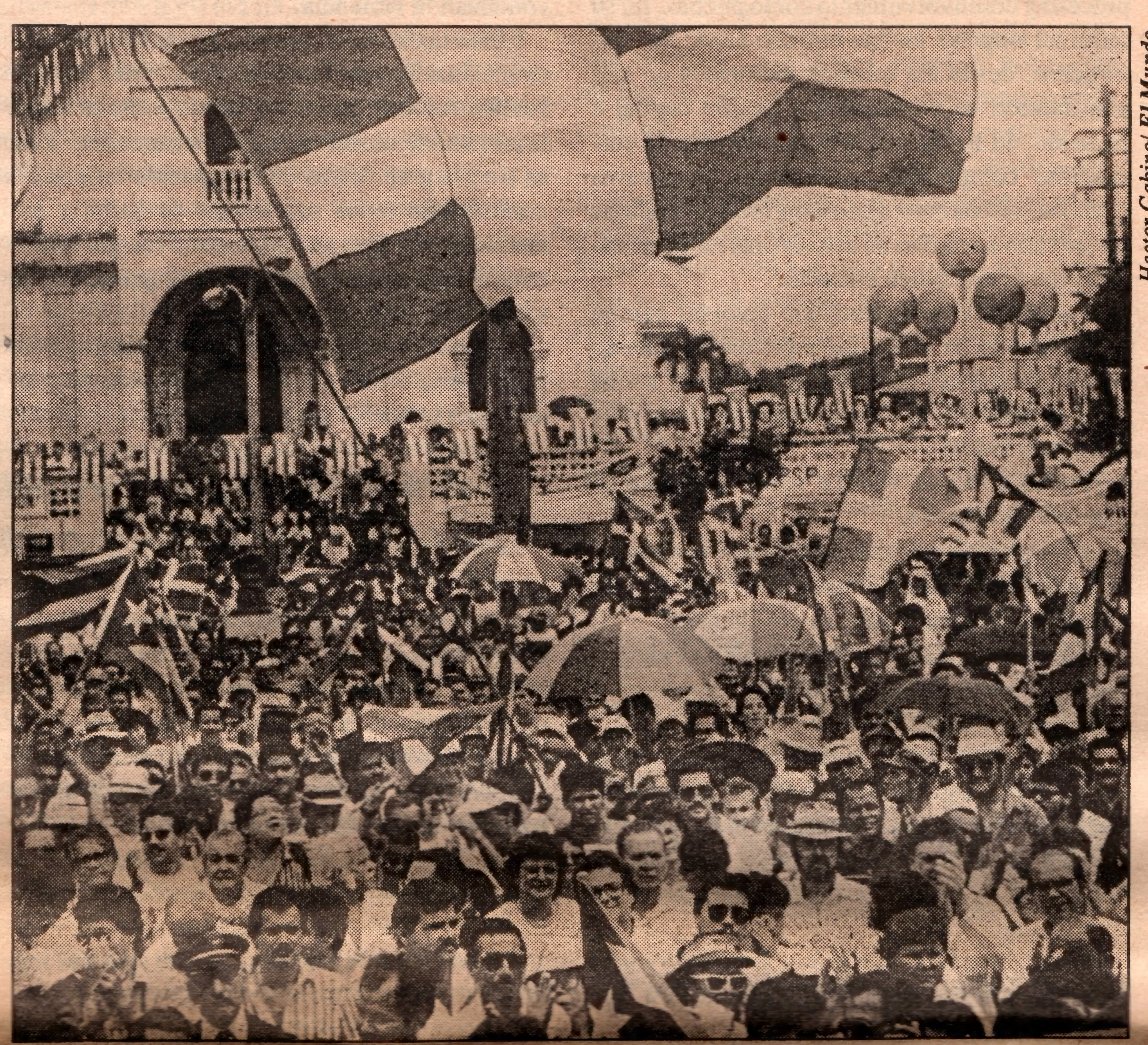
Durante la lectura del mensaje del Comandante Ojeda, se le preguntó al patriotismo boricua reunido en la Plaza de la Revolución si reconocía o no a Filiberto Ojeda como Comandante de la Revolución Boricua, a lo que la multitud reunida respondió emocionada con ovaciones y gritos de ¡Sí! Luego fué coreada la consigna, *Filiberto, Compañero, Comandante Machetero*, por un rato muy extenso.

Los actos del 23 de septiembre fueron dedicados este año a los Prisioneros de Guerra Puertorriqueños y a los Presos Políticos haciendo énfasis en particular a la Prisionera de Guerra Alejandrina Torres, al recién liberado combatiente de las **FALN** Guillermo Morales y al Comandante Filiberto Ojeda Ríos.

Los actos comenzaron en la mañana con la intervención del PIP, continuaron con un acto posterior del PSP y en la tarde se celebró un acto unitario convocado por la **Coordinadora de Trabajo Independentista (CTI).** El **CUCRE** hizo entrega de la Orden Mariana Bracetti a las Prisioneras de Guerra Ida Luz Rodríguez, Alicia Rodríguez, Carmen Valentín, Dylcia Pagán y Haydeé Torres. La orden fué recibida a nombre de las Prisioneras de Guerra por Damian Rodríguez, Antonio Valentín y María Redjukowski, hijos y sobrino(a) de las Prisioneras de Guerra.

Además se escuchó el mensaje grabado de la Prisionera de Guerra Alicia Rodríguez y el acusado político Roberto José Maldonado—actualmente enjuiciado junto a otros compañeros en Hartford en el caso del 30 de agosto del 1985. El Partido Nacionalista presentó su mensaje a través de su presidente Jacinto Rivera Pérez. La **CTI** fué representada por la camarada María Elena Torres y el **Frente Anti-Electoral (FAE)** tuvo a su cargo la lectura del mensaje del Comandante Filiberto Ojeda-Ríos. Se leyeron ademas mensajes del Movimiento Albizuista de Nueva York y de varias organizaciones norteamericanas, entre ellos del **Comité Puerto Rico Libre.** Los presentes hicieron un llamado a la no colaboración y a la no negociación con el aparato represivo yanki.

Durante la conmemoración circuló también un comunicado clandestino del **Ejército Popular Boricua-Macheteros** haciendo un llamado al independentismo boricua a no votar. Anteriormente las **Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN)** y el **Ejército Popular Boricua-Macheteros (EPB-M)** habían hecho público su ponencia al Comité de Descolonización de la ONU en el cual esbozaron un plan para la descolonización de Puerto Rico.

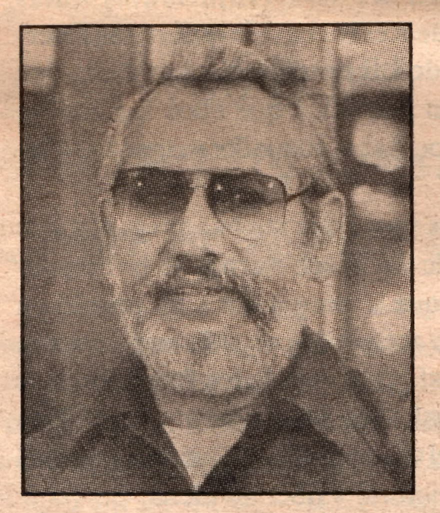


Hector Gabino/ El Mundo

Vista parcial de la Plaza de la Revolución en Lares, donde se reunieron más de 10,000 independentistas para celebrar el 120 aniversario del Grito de Lares.

Declaración del Comandante Filiberto Ojeda-Ríos al Grito de Lares

¡Fuí uno de los fundadores de los Macheteros! ¡Soy Machetero! Y seré Machetero hasta el día que todos juntos logremos conquistar la victoria y libertad plena.



Compañeros, Compañeras...pueblo de Lares:

Hoy, por obra y gracias de las fuerzas satánicas que controlan todo hálito de vida en nuestra patria, mi presencia física ha sido imposibilitada. ...Han impedido que me integre, junto a ustedes, en esta peregrinación que ya convertida en tradición reconfirma el mensaje ante nuestros enemigos y ante el mundo, de que aquí hay un pueblo indestructible; un pueblo oprimido que lucha contra la opresión; un pueblo explotado que lucha contra la explotación, un pueblo, avasallado por un colonialismo criminal que lucha por su independencia y total liberación. ...

Hoy conmemoramos el aniversario de aquella gesta que hace 120 años transformó ese amorfo pero profundo sentimiento nacional, en conciencia de sí como pueblo, ...en conciencia nacional. Fué, en la práctica, el sello forjado con sangre que marcó la indestructible existencia de la nación puertorriqueña. ...

Pero Lares fué mucho más que eso. Fué el más importante reclamo organizado del derecho inalienable de nuestro pueblo a la libertad plena. Y el reclamo a esa libertad e independencia lo dejó patentizado con el ejercicio de otro derecho de los pueblos sometidos a la explotación colonial y a la opresión: el derecho a luchar por todos los medios necesarios hasta lograr convertirse en rector de su propio destino. Con el espíritu de Lares, nuestro pueblo ha nutrido a sus fuerzas revolucionarias con 120 años de historia de lucha ya convertida en tradición.

Ahora el enemigo es uno mucho más poderoso, maquiavélico y brutal. Es un enemigo que por noventa años ha trabajado intensamente para enraizar su base de explotación, imponer sus normas colonialistas, y dividir a la familia y pueblo puertorriqueño. La agresiva y brutal imposición de su poderío militar sobre nuestro pueblo; su extraordinario predominio económico; su falsa mística de nación con trayectoria libertaria y revolucionaria; su absoluto poder sobre los medios de comunica-

(Véase próxima página)

I AM A MACHETERO!...

nation; its absolute control over the means of communication as well as its pragmatic mentality and demagogically reformist, colonial policies, have allowed the US to impose itself on the Puerto Rican nation and to cause our disinvolvement as a people. They have left no stone unturned in their criminal endeavor. From the moment it planned the bombardment of our capital and the subsequent invasion, the US government became the main promoter of corruption, buying collaboration and taking advantage of a class of people that sold their services in return for a piece of the new colonial pie.

I am certain that the history of colonial exploitation that has predominated in all aspects of our economic, political and social involvement during these 90 years is clear to everyone:

—the grand theft of our national treasury that occurred when the colonialists substituted our national currency for their own;

—the disappearance of our independent, national economy and the complete absorption of our manpower and productive forces;

—the disappearance of our agriculture and our total dependence on US imported goods.

These factors have led to a psychological tendency, insecurity and dependency. Incapable of satisfying our basic working needs, we are corrupted and transformed into beggars.

—our most fertile lands are converted into military bases for aggression against our Latin American brothers;

—our children, brothers and parents are converted into cannon fodder and forced to fight its dirty wars;

—our women are sterilized and used as guinea pigs to test new drugs;

—an enormous army of unemployed is created, then exiled to the metropolis where they suffer the most humiliating discrimination;

—the corruption that practically covers every sphere of political and economic life of the system;

—the profound and perhaps irreversible damage to the environment by US industries;

—the crime, the drug addiction, the alcoholism, the high rate of mental illness that our people suffer, a never ending list of evils that plague our people and whose cause, whose roots are no other than the criminal colonial system that imprisons us.

We have had ninety years of this, of empty and deceiving promises; of criminally manipulative promises that invade our senses every four years; like an alienating drug that acts as a mirage in the desert. All, absolutely all of our people know that the solution—the true solution—does not lie in going to the colonial polling booths every four years. It does not lie in condemning the deceitful demagoguery of those who have become an instrument to guarantee the survival of the colonial power.

It does not lie in what may be the good faith of those who think that we can conquer our rights and liberties peacefully ...without violence. Those that are not able to perceive the extraordinary violence that today oppresses all of our people, that transforms them into addicts, corrupts them, turns them into criminals, into alcoholics, into people who wander through the streets uncertain and insecure, are the same people who condemn violence.

And it will be the FBI that will be forced to answer for their crimes against our people, just as it will be our people who, in the end, will be victorious.

But violence is not an end for any revolutionary. We all reject it. It is to this colonial bastion, which is exploited and abused with inconceivable violence that we must respond. And nothing but the people's great force—coordinating different fronts of struggle and making use of its creative power—will defeat that demonic generator of violence.

In doing this, by responding in this manner, we are exercising our fundamental human rights guaranteed by international law and by all the international statutes established with the aim of legitimizing these rights. The first is the right to national independence and self-determination against colonialism; the second is the right to self-defense, the right to use any means necessary, when one struggles to conquer its freedom and struggle against colonialism. These are rights clearly established both by humanity's practice in its incessant struggle for justice and by law. Our people exercised this right, here in 1868; and with this example set a precedent that has been emulated throughout the proceeding generations.

The glorious Nationalist Party with Pedro Albizu Campos at its head, nurtured this revolutionary seed and extended its roots in an irreversible manner.

Continuing in this tradition, several patriotic, clandestine organizations have emerged. Organizations such as the **People's Revolutionary Commandos, Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution**, the **Armed Forces of Popular Resistance**, the **Armed Forces of National Liberation** and the patriotic organization that I am accused of founding, along with others, the **Puerto Rican People's Army-Macheteros.**

Every time I am asked if I am a founder of the **Macheteros**, I have always responded, ask my people in Lares and I will proudly accept their answer.

And so I say yes. I am one of the founders of the **Macheteros**! I am a **Machetero**! And I will continue being a **Machetero** until the day that together we achieve our victory and freedom.

In co-founding the **Macheteros**, I fulfilled an obligation and debt. I fulfilled it by exercising a right sanctioned by all the nations of the world, the right to be free and struggle through all legitimate means, for that freedom.

On the day of my arrest, I exercised that right. I exercised it with the strong belief that at that moment of conflict, it was a struggle between the Puerto Rican people and their enemy. And so I tried to defend my home, at that moment in my mind, as a symbol of all Puerto Rican homes. It was not an individual gesture. It was a collective gesture—a gesture of the people.

Now, faced with the possibility that I would return to my homeland and be with you to continue our struggle, the government has decided to bring new charges against me. But they committed a serious error. They have committed an error because the only criminals here are the FBI. It will be the FBI that will be forced to answer for their crimes against our people, just as it will be our people who, in the end, will be victorious.

Here in Puerto Rico, the FBI represents abuse, constant intimidation and persecution of the pro-independence sector; conspirators that have planned actions like that of the infamous González Malave, placing bombs in post offices and then covering up the facts at Cerro Maravilla. Criminals who create subversive lists and carry out sinister operations like the disgusting program of defamation and aggression that operates under the name of COINTELPRO against the Puerto Rican patriotic movement. The masterminds and organizers behind the terrorist bands composed of counter-revolutionary Cubans like those who today publish the sleazy magazine called ***Crónica*** and whose editors and publishers are terrorists, enemies of our Puerto Rican homeland who we will one day throw into a pile of human excrement where they belong.

No, compatriots, I will not be going to trial. They will be the ones on trial and our people will be the judge, but not in court. Our people will judge them, must judge them in the streets. The courts are theirs, that much is true, but the streets belong to us.

Fellow countrymen: today, September 23, 1988, we must all reiterate our commitment to the homeland, to our people, to this struggle.

Torturous days are ahead. Days in which our enemies will maneuver to fool us yet another time. It is up to us to stop them. This demands the unity and massification of our efforts. It also demands the firm demonstration, in practice, of our convictions. Reason is on our side. Truth is on our side. The history of our people's struggle like the Lares Uprising in 1868, points the way.

We **Macheteros** will march alongside our people, daily, until final victory is ours—and of that there can be no doubt.

Every Puerto Rican a Machetero!
Long Live our Imprisoned Combatants!
Long Live the Heroic Puerto Rican People!
Long Live a Free Puerto Rico!

LA PATRIA RADICAL
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Desarrollando Una Nueva Visión y Política de la Sexualidad Humana

*Esta edición de **De Pie y En Lucha** está dedicada a la discusión de nuestra concepción de la sexualidad humana. Incluímos un discurso por Bartolo Hernández de Jesús, un activista comunitario y un miembro activo en el movimiento independentista puertorriqueño en la ciudad de Nueva York. El hizo esta presentación durante la celebración del Día Internacional de los Trabajadores en la comunidad puertorriqueña de Chicago el día 1ro de mayo de 1988. El otro es un artículo escrito por Lourdes Lugo, en el cual ella discute su punto de vista sobre la sexualidad humana y como se interacciona con los cambios del orden socio-económico y como debemos comenzar a desarrollar una visión mas humana y afectiva sobre la sexualidad.*

*Para comenzar a poner en práctica algunas de nuestras perspectivas teóricas sobre la sexualidad humana y la epidemia del SIDA, los miembros del **MLN**, en conjunto con otros activistas, están organizando un proyecto piloto en Chicago: VIDA/SIDA. Este proyecto ha sido organizado con la intención de proveer verdaderos alternativas humanas para el problema del SIDA en la comunidad puertorriqueña de la ciudad. VIDA/SIDA mantiene su premisa en la filosofía de que para combatir el SIDA en la comunidad puertorriqueña, es imperativo el tratar con los problemas de gangas y drogas, prejuicios sexuales, enfrentar y cambiar la forma en que actuamos para prevenir la propagación del SIDA. Nuestro lema es—"la nueva vida comienza con la nueva persona."*

*Además, en los próximos meses el **MLN** estará auspiciando una reunión en la región noreste de los activistas homosexuales/lesbianas latinos para discutir la cuestión sobre la liberación homosexual y la lucha por la liberación de Puerto Rico.*

...En el siglo 21, ninguna revolución se llevará a cabo sin la participación de todos sectores de la sociedad. Esto incluye los sectores lesbianas y homosexuales.

—Bartolo Hernández de Jesús

Quisiera comenzar mi presentación en este importante y serio esfuerzo para bregar con el issue del SIDA en las comunidades de color—puertorriqueñas, afro-americanas y mexicanas—por darle las gracias a la Primera Iglesia Congregacional de Chicago, al programa VIDA/SIDA, al Red Kupona y al C-FAR por invitarme a hablar con ustedes hoy.

No es sorprendente que este día, Día Internacional de los Trabajadores sea un buen día para reunir a nuestras comunidades para empezar un diálogo para examinar la crisis del SIDA y sus esfuerzos genocidas en nuestras comunidades. No uso la palabra de genocidio facilmente, ni quiero espantarlos con retórica alarmista. Sin embargo, quiero compartir con ustedes unos datos que al principio no parecerán relacionados. Pero la conexión pronto estará evidente.

En 1985, el Departamento del Trabajo de los Estados Unidos declaró en su informe económico que el 50% de la juventud afro-americana no tenía ninguna esperanza de obtener empleo en la próxima década. De acuerdo a un informe publicado en el periódico ***New York Times*** en julio del 1988, el 80% de todas las mujeres y los niños que sufren de SIDA en los Estados Unidos residen en Nueva York. Peor aún es que están concentrados en una sola sección de la ciudad, el Sur de Bronx y sabemos muy bien quien vive en el Sur de Bronx—los puertorriqueños y los negros. En nuestras comunidades, el SIDA es la causa principal de la muerte para mujeres entre las edades de 18 a 35. Una mujer que está infectada con el virus HIV puede representar una generación de negros y puertorriqueños que no nacerán. Una pregunta: ¿es el SIDA diseñado para eliminar la crisis económica que encara los EU y para controlar a gente de color?

¿Es posible que la negligencia médica que sufren los negros, latinos, americanos nativos y mexicanos que padecen del SIDA sea más que un ataque accidental a nuestras comunidades que siempre han sido consideradas peligrosas porque sabemos organizarnos y luchar por un ambiente decente y para obtener nuestra felicidad?

Tenemos que declarar guerra contra los efectos del SIDA en nuestras comunidades. Creo que la ignorancia es un enemigo poderoso; pero nuestro peor enemigo no es la falta de información, sino la desinformación. Este enemigo se desarrolla y es nutrido por el enemigo de la humanidad, el imperialismo estadounidense, a través de la histeria de los medios noticieros y las agencias gubernamentales. Quisiera terminar para siempre con algunos mitos que los medios de publicidad continúan perpetuando como verdades.

1. El SIDA es un enfermedad homosexual—¡mentira!
2. El SIDA solamente afecta a hombres blancos homosexuales de la clase media—¡otra mentira!
3. Que el SIDA vino de un mono de Africa. Esta es una mentira racista que en alguna parte de Africa, un hombre africano tuvo relaciones sexuales, o bailó, tocó, mordió o hizo algo con un mono. Esta mentira viene de la misma mentalidad psicótica que perpetúa chistes perversos de los pastores europeos y sus ovejas.
4. El SIDA solamente afecta a tres grupos: los haitianos, homosexuales y drogadictos. ¡Mentira! En vez de hablar de grupos que están a riesgo de contraer el SIDA, debemos hablar del tipo de comportamiento que nos pone todos a riesgo.

Esta guerra contra el SIDA tiene que ser librada desde una perspectiva revolucionaria porque el gobierno y la estructura del poder fomentan póliticas facistas en sus llamados esfuerzos para bregar con la crisis, tales como exámenes obligatorios y entierro para personas con SIDA. Nunca debemos olvidarnos del Camino de las Lágrimas, donde miles de nativos-americanos fueron

Hacia Una Nueva Concepción de la Sexualidad Humana

—Lourdes Lugo

Con el advenimiento de una nueva etapa económica, política y social, que es el futuro derrocamiento del capitalismo y el desarrollo de un estado socialista, las concepciones sobre la sexualidad y el comportamiento sexual de los seres humanos, tiene que cambiar paralelamente.

La polémica de la sexualidad comienza a surgir con el desarrollo mismo del capitalismo. Con el surgimiento de la clase obrera, empieza el rompimiento de la familia. La necesidad de cada miembro del hogar irse a buscar el sustento diario, hace que cada miembro sea más independiente el uno del otro y menos necesaria la existencia de la familia como entidad económica y afectiva. Según avanza el capitalismo, surgen con más frecuencia temas de la sexualidad. El auge y apogeo de la cuestión de la sexualidad tiene su viraje mayor después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Aunque la homosexualidad había surgido como una orientación de vida desde mucho antes, es después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial que se empieza a batallar la "identidad" sexual. Por la división entre los sexos que se dá durante la guerra, es que las comunidades homosexuales empiezan a organizarse y a demandar sus derechos. Dado a que la sociedad ha sido de tendencia patriarcal, es la comunidad homosexual masculina y no el lesbianismo el que comienza a alzar la voz. Las lesbianas, relegadas aún a la oscuridad y usualmente atadas a las tareas relacionadas a ser madre soltera, no se organizan con la misma intensidad hasta la década de los '60. Con esta organización viene una tremenda represión por parte de todas las instituciones sociales, un ataque colectivo contra la homosexualidad y la libre determinación de la sexualidad. La iglesia, el gobierno, las escuelas, lugares de empleos, el ejército, y tristemente la oposición de izquierda, etc. atacan crasamente los derechos de la auto-determinación sexual. Esto, a su vez, dá cabida a la lucha por los derechos sexuales que tienen su estado climático en la década de los '60 y '70.

Ahora, en la década de los '80, volvemos a ver el surgimiento de un grave ataque contra la comunidad lesbiana y homosexual. Las metas gubernamentales de volver atrás al establecimiento de la familia y a los valores feudales que murieron hace varias décadas, trae consigo nuevamente un ataque contra las comunidades que han luchado por la auto-determinación sexual. La epidemia del SIDA ha sido utilizada de la forma más inhumana posible contra los homosexuales y las lesbianas por los hipócritas puritanistas para afirmar su creencia sobre lo

EN EL SIGLO 21...

removidos forzosamente de sus tierras, obligados a caminar a pie a través de cinco estados con frisas contaminadas con viruela que les había dado el gobierno de EU. Millares de nativos americanos murieron porque no tenían inmunidad al microbio. Nunca debemos olvidar a los 200 hombres en Tuskeegee, Alabama que fueron infectados con sífilis. Les dieron un placebo (píldoras de pura azúcar), les dijieron que ya estaban curados y los mandaron a sus casas a morir. Tampoco debemos olvidar a las centenares de mujeres puertorriqueñas a quienes les dieron la píldora anti-conceptiva cuando ésta todavía era ilegal y su uso era considerado peligroso en los EU. Hoy Puerto Rico tiene la más alta incidencia de cáncer del útero en el mundo. No debemos olvidar los programas ilegales de esterilización que tomaron lugar en nuestras comunidades y todavía ocurren en Puerto Rico. Actualmente Puerto Rico tiene el más alto porcentaje de mujeres esterilizadas de edad fértil en el mundo. Estos hechos deberían ayudarnos a poner en perspectiva el uso de viruses y procedimientos médicos para oprimir a nuestro pueblo.

No podemos ignorar las dimensiones políticas que el virus HIV y el SIDA representan para nuestras comunidades. No podemos separar la batalla contra el SIDA de la lucha de los pueblos colonizados en los EU y sus guerras de liberación. El SIDA está siendo usado para intimidar, controlar y destruír a nuestro pueblo.

De acuerdo al Departamento de Salud de la ciudad de Nueva York, el porcentaje más alto de personas que están muriendo del SIDA son drogadictos. ¿Quiénes son los drogadictos en Chicago? Son los mismos en Nueva York—principalmente hombres y mujeres latinos y negros.

Ya que hemos discutido algunos temas generales sobre las condiciones y efectos de la crisis del SIDA en nuestra comunidad, ahora quisiera dirigirme a los homosexuales y lesbianas latinos y negros en la audiencia y compartir mis opiniones sobre cual debía ser nuestro rol en la lucha contra el SIDA. Pero primero, déjenme informarles sobre un secreto que no es muy secreto. Soy puertorriqueño y también soy homosexual y estoy orgulloso de mi identidad completa. Me siento orgulloso de mi orientación sexual sólo después de varios años de odiarme porque esta sociedad opresiva me había condicionado a aceptar mi auto-desprecio y a internalizar mi opresión.

Siendo homosexual, creo que es mi responsabilidad dirigirme a los asuntos de importancia para la comunidad homosexual y lesbiana latina y negra y nuestro rol en la redención de la humanidad. El SIDA ha cambiado nuestras vidas. Nos ha obligado reevaluar nuestras vidas y reafirmar nuestra orientación sexual. Pero también ha abierto el camino hacia una verdadera integración a nuestras comunidades.

Siendo yo un homosexual puertorriqueño lo único que tengo en común con un homosexual blanco de la clase media es lo que un heterosexual negro ó puertorriqueño tiene en común con un heterosexual blanco de la clase media. Esto es, nuestra orientación sexual. Este hecho puede servir como un lazo de solidaridad genuino, donde podamos luchar juntos contra un enemigo común, ó también puede ser otra razón más para el racismo. Yo he aprendido a través de mis experiencias que la sociedad homosexual sólo es una reflexión de la sociedad heterosexual.

Hoy día el número de prostitutos varones en la ciudad de Nueva York ha incrementado increíblemente. Los homosexuales negros y latinos componen el porcentaje más alto de estos prostitutos. ¿Quién sabe cuantos de ellos están infectados con el virus HIV? Peor aún, de acuerdo con un informe especial de **ABC News**, una tercera parte de estos homosexuales son menores de 17 años. ¿Quién cree que son los patrones de estos prostitutos?

Mis experiencias me han llevado a la conclusión que la liberación de homosexuales y lesbianas latinas y negras no recae en la lucha por los "derechos civiles". Tampoco es viable en el movimiento homosexual de la clase media ¿A poco el movimiento femenino liberó a las mujeres obreras latinas y negras? ¿Obtuvo la liberación de alguna mujer? Pregúntenles a nuestros compañeros heterosexuales si los negros y puertorriqueños tienen empleo, viviendas decentes, y si disfrutan de una sociedad justa.

Luchar alrededor de mi sexualidad no cambiará el color de mi piel, mi acento ó mi nacionalidad. Mi liberación está ligada—no, no está ligada, sino que es una parte de mi, igual que mi brazo es parte de mi cuerpo—con la lucha por la independencia de Puerto Rico. A través de nuestro ejemplo debemos combatir la homofobia que existe entre nuestro pueblo. Debemos tomar nuestro lugar en la historia, y en la redención(creación de la comunidad) de la humanidad. Debemos dejar claro que en el siglo 21, ninguna revolución se llevará a cabo sin la participación de todos sectores de la sociedad. Esto incluye los sectores lesbianas y homosexuales. Ya sabemos que homosexuales y lesbianas han dirigido grandes ejércitos y conquistado sus enemigos. Las Amazonas y Alejandro el Grande fueron algunos ejemplos.

La crisis del SIDA es una llamada urgente a comenzar un proceso de auto-liberación. Reconocer su identidad sexual sólo es el primer paso. Debemos examinar nuestra opresión internalizada, primero como gente de color y luego como lesbianas y homosexuales.

Necesitamos dinero para una cura y un tratamiento efectivo que sea accesible a nuestra gente que padece del SIDA. Pero, tenemos que ser cuidadosos cuando solicitamos fondos para el tratamiento e investigación del SIDA. El dinero para la investigación del SIDA ya es una fuente de ganancias. Nunca encontraremos una cura para el SIDA mientras esta enfermedad haga dinero para investigadores y corporaciones farmacéuticas. El Camino de Lagrimas, el Holocausto y los centenares de años de políticas genocidas contra los negros será como un juego de niños en comparación con la gente de color que morirá antes del siglo 21. ¿Cuántas personas con el SIDA en nuestras comunidades pueden sobrellevar los costos de tratamiento con AZT? Hasta un tratamiento efectivo—y ya sabemos que el tratamiento con el AZT no es tan efectivo—puede tomar mucho tiempo hasta que llegue a esos pobres "tecatos y patos". Y, ¿a quién le importa? ¡Pues, a nosotros nos importa! Tenemos que preocuparnos por esos tecatos porque ellos también son víctimas de una sociedad opresiva y explotada. Y esos patos, esos homosexuales son nuestros hermanos, hijos, tíos, y sí, hasta nuestros padres. La redención de la humanidad requiere guerra contra los efectos del SIDA, guerra contra la pobreza, guerra contra la opresión, contra la homofobia y contra la explotación. Pero sobre todo, requiere una revolución. El SIDA puede representar el agente catalítico que reunirá a las comunidades homosexuales y heterosexuales a librar guerras de liberación contra el imperialismo estadounidense. Una moral revolucionaria y afectiva nos llevará a la creación de una sociedad donde tener una diferente orientación sexual quizás será tan común como ser de mano izquierda. La crisis del SIDA será otro episodio en la historia de atrocidades perpetradas por el enemigo de la humanidad. Sin embargo, ésta atrocidad puede y será derrotada por el pueblo.

Resolución del MLN sobre la Sexualidad

La sexualidad es parte de nuestros sentimientos e identidad humana, y por tanto juega un papel muy importante. Tenemos que comenzar a sentirnos libres para expresar nuestra sexualidad sin sentirnos oprimidos por las imposiciones negativistas de la sociedad en la cual vivimos. Debemos desarrollar una visión positiva de la sexualidad en todos sus aspectos, y como organización, garantizar que cada individuo se sienta de igual manera. Somos los primeros en hacer de la sexualidad parte de un programa político. Los detalles, las batallas, las luchas que surgirán serán parte de nuestro esfuerzo de avanzar ciertas ideas que hasta hoy han estado escondidas y olvidades en un baúl. Si tomamos la sexualidad y el patriarquismo como parte del mismo problema y contadicciones típicas al sistema imperante, entonces lucharemos contra éstas de la misma manera que luchamos contra el individualismo, etc.

Por tal razón, ni tendencias patriarcales, ni preferencias sexuales, deben ser factores in la aceptación de cualquier persona como miembro de nuestra organización.

Debemos añadir algo más acerca del SIDA. El SIDA ha probado ser un virus que puede infectar y matar no importa la nacionalidad, la raza, el sexo, o la preferencia sexual. Pero el SIDA equivocadamente aún se confunde con una enfermedad de "homosexuales" y se utiliza como un nuevo medio de represión contra la homosexualidad.

Nosotros estamos fuertemente en desacuerdo. El SIDA está atacando a la nación puertorriqueña en cantidades desproporcionalmente altas y no podemos permitir que el prejuicio sea el medio de buscar una solución al problema, o el apoyo que podamos brindarle a nuestros hermanos y hermanas que sufren de esta enfermedad.

El estado capitalista norteamericano usa el SIDA como el medio de combatir la liberación sexual y detener el progreso que hemos logrado durante las últimas dos décadas en la liberación humana. El SIDA se ha convertido en un instrumento de propaganda para la promoción de la represión sexual, tanto heterosexual como homosexual. Depende de todos nosotros denunciar esta política, separar los hechos de las mentiras, y oponernos a que nos impongan la represión y la moralidad burguesa.

SEXUALDAD HUMANA...

dañino que son las prácticas sexuales no heterosexuales. Ahora bien, ¿qué debe de ser nuestra postura y qué vemos en el futuro con respecto a la sexualidad humana?

Para contestar la primera parte de la pregunta tenemos que hacer una determinación individual, igual que colectiva hacia cómo nos sentimos sobre la auto-determinación sexual. ¿Cómo traemos nuestras fobias, preocupaciones y preguntas, de forma científica y humana, hacia aceptar las decisiones de cada individuo? Ciertamente es necesario ver que cualquiera que sea la decisión del individuo tiene que ser respetada. Que aceptemos en nuestras mentes que todo comportamiento sexual es normal y humano, siempre y cuando este no sea abusivo o represivo. Que entendamos que nosotros mismos cambiamos y que tenemos la opción, el derecho y la responsabilidad de cambiar a nuestra preferencia y orientación de acuerdo a nuestra situación. Una vez hayamos determinado nuestra visión, ó aceptado nuestra orientación sexual, entonces decidimos nuestra postura ante la creciente ola represiva contra nuestros derechos sexuales. Si somos verda-deros seres humanos, sabemos que nuestra postura es de luchar y asegurar que los derechos de la auto-determinación sexual tanto de los individuos, como de las organizaciones que tanto han luchado.

La segunda parte es comenzar a ver el futuro. ¿Hacía donde vamos? La lucha por la auto-determinación sexual es en sí la lucha por el control de nuestros cuerpos. Para establecer este control debemos de romper con las ideologías y las categorizaciones que nos aprisionan al presente orden social. Definitivamente tenemos que comenzar a salir de señalar a cada persona y ponerle un sello. Romper con la clasificación de que somos homosexuales, heterosexuales, bi-sexuales, sino afirmar nuestra humanidad. Hacia ahí nos dirigimos, afirmar que somos completamente seres humanos independientemente de cuál sea nuestra orientación sexual.

La contribución revolucionaria del movimiento homosexual y lesbiano ha sido el de redefinir las expectativas de lo que los hombres y las mujeres están supuestos a ser.

Ellos han abierto una nueva dimensión sobre como se deben relacionar unos con otros los seres humanos, más allá de las meras expectativas ideologicas sobre la reproducción.

El movimiento homosexual y lesbiano no puede ser visto simplemente como un movimiento por derechos civiles, sino como un paso adelante en el procesode la liberación de todos los seres humanos.

MLN

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La Patria Radical

Official Organ of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueño (MLN)

Clemente High School

Microcosm of Our Community— A Powder Keg Ready to Explode

CHICAGO—During the past few weeks, Clemente High School has been the scene of major student struggles. Walk-outs, pickets, rallies and boycotts have been the order of the day. The school, which for nearly fifteen years was thought to be dormant, has proven to be a powder keg ready to explode.

Clemente High School is located in the middle of Chicago's rapidly gentrifying West Town and East Humboldt Park communities. Nevertheless, it continues to be considered the heart of Chicago's Puerto Rican community. This once highly depressed community has become a bone of contention between the poor Puerto Rican families, who have nowhere to go and white homesteaders and real estate speculators who wish to restore its 19th Century Victorian grandeur.

In many ways, Clemente High School is a microcosm of the reality our people are forced to live wherever they have settled. On the one hand, is a system that discriminates, that encourages truancy and high push-out rates—in other words that marginalizes us. On the other hand, the self-inflicted problems of drugs, gangs and teenage suicide, are a reflection of the phenomenon Fanon so well described in ***Wretched of the Earth,*** *the colonized man will first manifest this aggressiveness which has been deposited in his bones against his own people. This is the period when the niggers beat each other up, and the police...do not know which way to turn when faced with the astonishing wave of crime.*

This is the microcosm of our Puerto Rican reality called Clemente High School. We can observe both the marginalization of our students by an educational system that tracks them into meaningless jobs or the army and racist teachers whose expectations and views of our students are so low, that they in many ways program them—albeit unconsciously—for failure. Our students' sense of self-worth is warped by the educational system and by society as a whole, resulting in students who find meaning and a sense of belonging in the dark world of drugs and gangs.



Pablo Vilar/ *La Patria Radical*

Despite the harassment and intimidation by Police and administration, the students demonstrated their creative capacity to organize themselves and paralyze the school. Marcos Vilar, a community activist, was arrested for aiding a student who was being attacked by Police.

Studies indicate that Third World children in the US begin to internalize their lack of self-worth at an early age. For example, a recent study conducted in New York in August, 1987, concluded that *...Most Black pre-school children still prefer white dolls over Black dolls, just as they did in the landmark 1947 study.* Teachers and schools can play an extremely important role in providing an environment that combats this problem, instead of exacerbating it with the kind of subtle racism clearly expressed by several Clemente High School teachers in the January 22, 1988 issue of ***The Reader.***

As a result of the community's outrage, the three teachers who made the offensive, racist comments were transferred to another school. One of the teachers, the school's librarian, Kay Thompson, sued the Board of Education and a racist judge ordered her returned to Clemente this September—ignoring our community's wishes and the best interests of our children.

(Cont. page 2)

Human Rights Campaign Founding Conference a Major Victory

NEW YORK—The founding conference of the International Human Rights Campaign held here October 1st was a major success. Some 88 representatives of Puerto Rican, New Afrikan, North American and Native American political prisoners and prisoners of war were present speaking on behalf of nearly all political prisoners in US Prisons. Both Puerto Ricans on the island and in the US were amply represented.

The Campaign defined as a political prisoner any person in prison for *...acts, associations, or beliefs in favor of self-determination for racially, sexually and nationally oppressed peoples, against US foreign and military policy, or domestic policies of the US and its corporations which contribute to the impoverishment, suffering and repression of poor and working people and racially and nationally oppressed peoples.*

The term was also applied to those imprisoned simply for their political beliefs and affiliations and for taking political actions in violation of US laws. The term was also applied to those who have assumed the position of prisoner of war and are entitled to such consideration under the Geneva Convention and its Protocols I and II.

It includes "social prisoners" who have received extended prison terms and have been denied release, or are targeted for repression because they have protested and resisted dehumanizing conditions within prisons and society.

Two qualifications were made by the conferees: It does not cover those guilty of racism, sexism, anti-semitism and other forms of discrimination. It also does not cover those acting in support of the US government and military policies, nor contras in Central America or elsewhere. The campaign is also limited in scope to those in prisons in the US.

In its morning session, the conferees also approved a call for amnesty for all political prisoners and prisoners of war in the US and an end to the continuing violations of their Human Rights.

Afternoon workshops were held on research, the compilation of dossiers on prisoners, legal issues at the national and international levels, women in prison, the ethical questions facing the churches, the role of professionals and how to wage an information campaign aimed at the American and International community.

A second meeting was scheduled for December 10, following a Friday, December 9th press

(Cont. page 2)

Grito de Dolores Celebration held in Liberated Territory in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico

The Land Belongs to Those Who Work It!



Edith Scripps/Free Puerto Rico

Pedro Archuleta and Ricardo Romero with the Council of Elders.

TIERRA AMARILLA—*Land or Death! The land belongs to those who work it!* These were the rallying cries on September 17, 1988 at the Colonia de José María Martínez in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico. The occasion was the commemoration of the anniversary of Mexico's independence from Spain and to build unity with the Mexican national liberation struggle in the first "liberated territory" in occupied Mexico.

The Colonia is part of the land in question in a battle pitting on one side, the family of Amador Flores, who has worked and assumed ownership of the land for over twenty years, the **Movimiento de Liberación Nacional-Mexicano (MLN-M)** and the Mexican people of Tierra Amarilla and on the other side, a group of North American investors who want to develop the land for their own private financial gain.

The activity was attended by over seventy people, including members of the **Committee in Solidarity with El Salvador, Pledge of Resistance, John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, Free Puerto Rico!**, the **Committee for the Popular Defense of Mexico (CDP)**, the **Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Mexicano (MLN-M)** and the **Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueño (MLN)**, as well as a spokesman for Roberto Mondragón, ex-Governor of New Mexico and the Council of Elders of the Colonia de José María Martínez.

Pedro Archuleta and Ricardo Romero, the principal organizers of the activity and founders of the **MLN-M**, gave informative summaries of the land question in the occupied territories. They spoke of the Mexican people's human rights of self-determination and self-defense and reiterated that...*the victories attained so far in the Colonia were possible because of the armed stance of the resisters in the face of repression.*

Gabino Gómez of the **CDP** gave a historical overview of the Mexican people's struggle for national liberation. He also spoke about the current volatile situation in Mexico after the vote theft and concluded by reaffirming the right of the Mexican people in the occupied territory to struggle for the socialist reunification of Mexico.

Félix Rosa, former political prisoner, spoke on behalf of the **MLN**. He stated that ... *the main question here is not who has a deed or title to the land, but rather, who has the historical right to the land*...and that ...*the people of the occupied territories have the right to struggle and defend that right.*

The activity closed with a call by Ricardo Romero and Pedro Archuleta to all progressive people to show concrete solidarity with the Mexican national liberation struggle and the right of the Mexican people to self-determination and self-defense.

For more information or to send your donations/contributions call: 505/588-7736 in Tierra Amarilla or 303/839-5366 in Denver Colorado.

CLEMENTE HIGH SCHOOL...

It is this article which triggered the anger of our community and more recently, the struggles at Clemente. The racist comments, which appeared in an interview form and covered the whole gamut, from the daily lives of the students to their sexual practices, is a throwback to the white supremacist notions of the European settlers concerning the "natives". For example, Kay Thompson's perceptions of sexuality among our youth reduces it to an irrational, primeval and bestial behavior—the stereotypical notion of the oversexed native. Another example of her racist attitudes and notions is her view of the coterie of students that she chooses to deal with—principally the so-called exceptional student. This elite corps that she has chosen to help and deal with are none other than those who have rejected their Puerto Rican-ness and have totally assimilated into the dominant society in the tradition of the "native" collaborationist.

Students, teachers, parents and a coalition of community groups organized themselves into the **Coalition Against Racism at Clemente** and have launched a campaign with a twofold purpose: the immediate firing of Kay Thompson and the conversion of Roberto Clemente Community Academy into a model magnet bilingual, multicultural school with a content that will reflect the needs, concerns and generative themes of the predominantly Puerto Rican community of West Town/ Humboldt Park. Clemente High School must become a school in which teachers, students, parents and community residents can participate democratically in the governance of the school and in the determination of its curriculum that will be premised on a pedagogical process of critical thinking, self-determination and empowerment. Such a school must take into account the needs and concerns of all students, regardless of the color of their skin or nationality.

At issue, of course, is the future of Clemente High School and the students which it serves. At present, the school has an 80% dropout/pushout rate (*i.e.*, in 1984, the freshmen enrollment in Clemente was 1200, yet in 1988 only 264 students graduated), an abundance of gang activity and drugs are common place. The school environment is marked by low student attendance and teacher morale best described by Kay Thompson as a "world of grayness".

The struggle at Clemente High School must be seen as part of a wider struggle for empowering our community. As a result, Clemente High School can become a model school, where a truly human educational process can take place, in which the "grayness" and the sense of hopelessness experienced by these cynical and racist teachers is replaced by a dynamic, colorful and truly liberating educational experience. The process itself may very well stave off the inevitable onslaught of white Yuppies, who like the homesteaders of yesteryear are encroaching upon our community and driving the "natives" out.

HUMAN RIGHTS...

conference. The interim coordinating committee which put the conference together was elected to continue the work until elections are held at the December meeting. That meeting is also expected to produce a program for the campaign.

Despite earlier misgivings by some participants and others that the campaign was too broad and would produce internal conflicts among people who had not previously worked together, the Conference turned out to be a model for unity and fraternity among a host of forces whose principal concern is to excarcerate all political prisoners and expose the gross abuses committed by the Prison.

Rather than the historical suspicions and negative undercurrents of hidden agendas and partisanship which has governed the history of broad coalitions, the participants demonstrated an immense capacity for selfless caring which left everyone enthusiastic at day's end.

The logistical effort to feed, house and cater to the needs of the participants was extraordinary and cooperation and solidarity was the order of the day.

In the democratic spirit of the project, the chair was rotated among six different people and every participant had the opportunity to express him/herself. The results of each workshop was subsequently debated in the general meeting of the conferees and approval of the workshop reports came by unanimity.

None of the papers issued out of the workshops will become official until the December conference. The conferees agreed to seek a continuing expansion of the Campaign until all political prisoners are included as well as other forces in the social and political life of the country.

Comandante Filiberto Ojeda–Ríos Declares Himself Founder of the Macheteros

LARES—On Friday, September 23, during the commemoration of the 120th anniversary of the Lares Uprising, Comandante Filiberto Ojeda-Ríos declared himself one of the founders of the **Puerto Rican People's Army -Macheteros**. *I was one of the founders of the Macheteros! I am a Machetero! And I will be a Machetero until the day that we all achieve victory and freedom...* he stated in a message sent to the people and read by the **Anti-Electoral Front (FAE)**, for whom he is the international spokesperson.

A multitude of independentistas—calculated by the mainstream press at more than 10,000 people—gathered in Lares beginning at dawn.

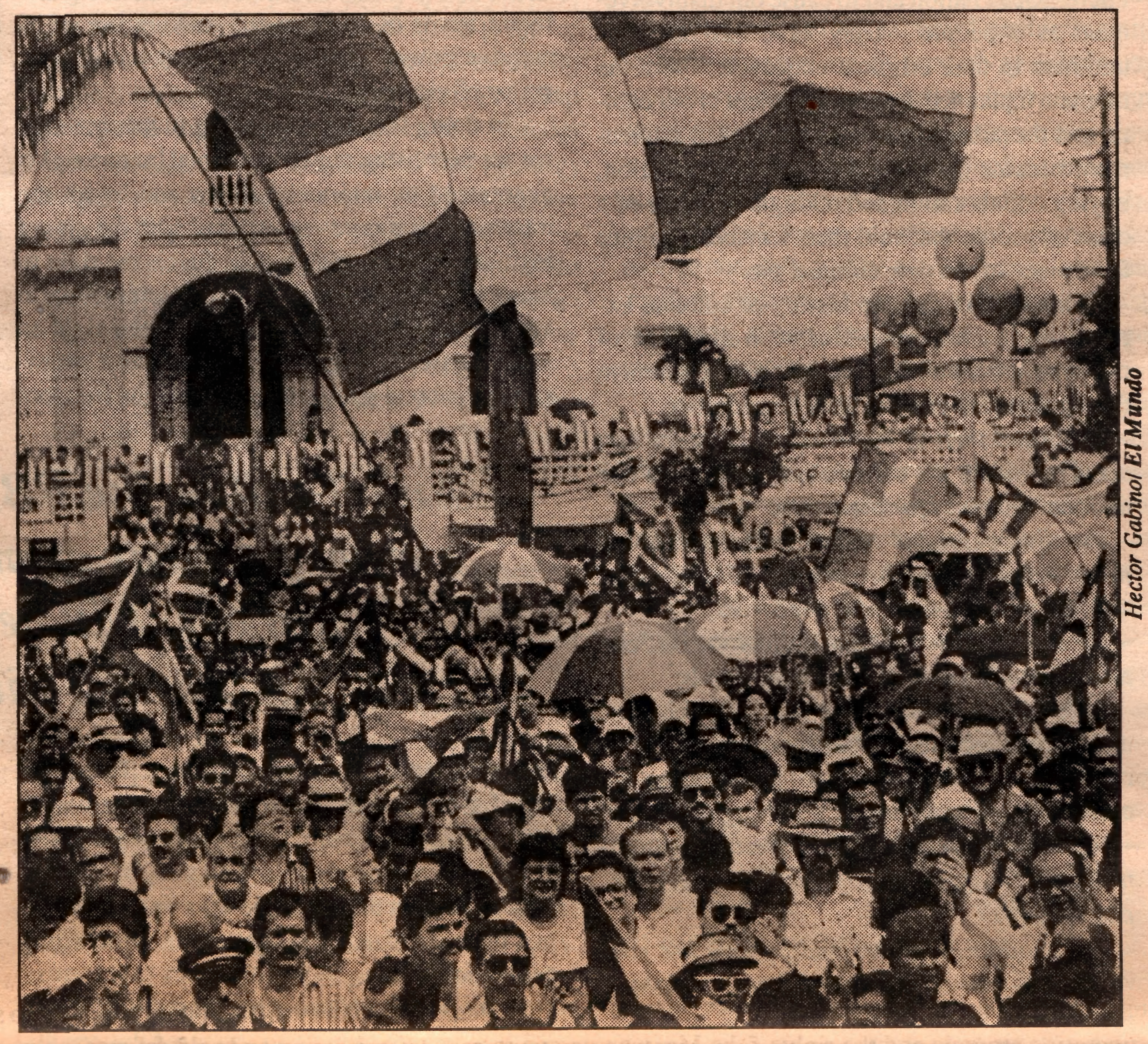
At one point during the reading of Comandante Ojeda's message, the patriotic crowd united in the Plaza of the Revolution was asked if it acknowledged Filiberto Ojeda-Ríos as the Comandante of the Puerto Rican Revolution. The masses responded with ovations and shouts of "Yes!" Shouts of *¡Filiberto Compañero, Comandante Machetero!* reverberated throughout the Plaza for a long time afterwards.

This year's activities on September 23 were dedicated to the POWs and Political Prisoners, especially to POW Alejandrina Torres, the recently liberated **FALN** combatant Guillermo Morales and Comandante Filiberto Ojeda-Ríos.

The activities began in the morning with the PIP's activity and continued with the afternoon act by the PSP. A unitary act convoked by the **Coordinadora de Trabajo Independentista (CTI)** completed the afternoon's events. The **Unitary Committee Against Repression and in Defense of Political Prisoners** awarded the Order of Mariana Bracetti to POWs Ida Luz Rodríguez, Alicia Rodríguez, Carmen Valentín, Dylcia Pagán and Haydeé Torres. The award was received on behalf of the POWs by Damian Rodríguez, (son and nephew of POWs Lucy and Alicia Rodríguez, respectively), Antonio Valentín (POW Carmen Valentin's son) and María Redjukowski (niece of POW Haydeé Torres).

A taped message from POW Alejandrina Torres, a message from the recently released **FALN** combatant Guillermo Morales, a solidarity statement from POW Alicia Rodríguez, as well as a message from Roberto José Maldonado, one of the Hartford 13, was read to the crowd. Jacinto Pérez-Rivera, president of the **Nationalist Party** spoke on behalf of his organization. The **CTI** was represented by María Elena Ruíz and the **Anti-Electoral Front (FAE)** read Comandante Filiberto's message. Messages from the Albizuist Revolutionary Movement from New York and several North American organizations, among them the **Free Puerto Rico Committee** were also read. Those present called for non collaboration and no negotiations with the yankee repressive apparatus.

During the commemoration, a communique issued by the **Puerto Rican People's Army** calling for electoral abstention was distributed. Earlier this year, in August, the **Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation (FALN-PR)** and the **Puerto Rican People's Army-Macheteros (EBP-M)** made public a decolonization plan for Puerto Rico to the United Nations Decolonization Committee.


Hector Gabino/ El Mundo

Partial view of the Plaza of the Revolution, where over 10,000 independentistas gathered to celebrate the 120th anniversary of the Lares Uprising

Comandante Filiberto Ojeda-Ríos:

...I am one of the founders of the Macheteros! I am a Machetero! And I will continue being a Machetero until the day that together we achieve our victory and freedom.



Compañeros, Compañeras, People of Lares,

My physical presence here today has been prevented, thanks to the dirty work of the satanic forces that control every aspect of life in the homeland. ...They have prevented me from joining you in this traditional pilgrimage that reconfirms the message, before our enemy and the world, that we are an indestructible people; an oppressed people that struggles against oppression; an exploited people that struggles against exploitation, a people that despite colonial domination, struggles for independence and liberation.

Today we commemorate the anniversary of the great action that 120 years ago transformed that amorphous, but profound national sentiment...into a national consciousness. It was in our practice, the seal forged with blood, that marked the indestructible existence of the Puerto Rican nation.

But Lares was much more than that; it was the most important organized call of our people's inalienable right to full independence. And the call to that freedom and independence was evident with the exercise of the right of people subjected to colonial exploitation and oppression: the right to struggle by any means necessary and to become the architect of its own destiny. With the spirit of Lares, our people have nourished its revolutionary forces with 120 years of historical struggle that has already become a tradition.

Now our enemy is much more powerful, machiavellian and brutal; an enemy that for 90 years has worked relentlessly to entrench its base of exploitation, impose colonial rule and to divide the Puerto Rican family and nation. The US' aggressive and brutal imposition of its military strength over our people; its extraordinary economic dominance; its false mystique as a progressive and revolutionary

(See next page)

I AM A MACHETERO!...

nation; its absolute control over the means of communication as well as its pragmatic mentality and demagogically reformist, colonial policies, have allowed the US to impose itself on the Puerto Rican nation and to cause our disinvolvement as a people. They have left no stone unturned in their criminal endeavor. From the moment it planned the bombardment of our capital and the subsequent invasion, the US government became the main promoter of corruption, buying collaboration and taking advantage of a class of people that sold their services in return for a piece of the new colonial pie.

I am certain that the history of colonial exploitation that has predominated in all aspects of our economic, political and social involvement during these 90 years is clear to everyone:

—the grand theft of our national treasury that occurred when the colonialists substituted our national currency for their own;

—the disappearance of our independent, national economy and the complete absorption of our manpower and productive forces;

—the disappearance of our agriculture and our total dependence on US imported goods.

These factors have led to a psychological tendency, insecurity and dependency. Incapable of satisfying our basic working needs, we are corrupted and transformed into beggars.

—our most fertile lands are converted into military bases for aggression against our Latin American brothers;

—our children, brothers and parents are converted into cannon fodder and forced to fight its dirty wars;

—our women are sterilized and used as guinea pigs to test new drugs;

—an enormous army of unemployed is created, then exiled to the metropolis where they suffer the most humiliating discrimination;

—the corruption that practically covers every sphere of political and economic life of the system;

—the profound and perhaps irreversible damage to the environment by US industries;

—the crime, the drug addiction, the alcoholism, the high rate of mental illness that our people suffer, a never ending list of evils that plague our people and whose cause, whose roots are no other than the criminal colonial system that imprisons us.

We have had ninety years of this, of empty and deceiving promises; of criminally manipulative promises that invade our senses every four years; like an alienating drug that acts as a mirage in the desert. All, absolutely all of our people know that the solution—the true solution—does not lie in going to the colonial polling booths every four years. It does not lie in condemning the deceitful demagoguery of those who have become an instrument to guarantee the survival of the colonial power.

It does not lie in what may be the good faith of those who think that we can conquer our rights and liberties peacefully ...without violence. Those that are not able to perceive the extraordinary violence that today oppresses all of our people, that transforms them into addicts, corrupts them, turns them into criminals, into alcoholics, into people who wander through the streets uncertain and insecure, are the same people who condemn violence.

But violence is not an end for any revolutionary. We all reject it. It is to this colonial bastion, which is exploited and abused with inconceivable violence that we must respond. And nothing but the people's great force—coordinating different fronts of struggle and making use of its creative power—will defeat that demonic generator of violence.

In doing this, by responding in this manner, we are exercising our fundamental human rights guaranteed by international law and by all the international statutes established with the aim of legitimizing these rights. The first is the right to national independence and self-determination against colonialism; the second is the right to self-defense, the right to use any means necessary, when one struggles to conquer its freedom and struggle against colonialism. These are rights clearly established both by humanity's practice in its incessant struggle for justice and by law. Our people exercised this right, here in 1868; and with this example set a precedent that has been emulated throughout the proceeding generations.

The glorious Nationalist Party with Pedro Albizu Campos at its head, nurtured this revolutionary seed and extended its roots in an irreversible manner.

Continuing in this tradition, several patriotic, clandestine organizations have emerged. Organizations such as the **People's Revolutionary Commandos, Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution,** the **Armed Forces of Popular Resistance**, the **Armed Forces of National Liberation** and the patriotic organization that I am accused of founding, along with others, the **Puerto Rican People's Army-Macheteros.**

Every time I am asked if I am a founder of the **Macheteros**, I have always responded, ask my people in Lares and I will proudly accept their answer.

And so I say yes. I am one of the founders of the **Macheteros**! I am a **Machetero**! And I will continue being a **Machetero** until the day that together we achieve our victory and freedom.

In co-founding the **Macheteros**, I fulfilled an obligation and debt. I fulfilled it by exercising a right sanctioned by all the nations of the world, the right to be free and struggle through all legitimate means, for that freedom.

On the day of my arrest, I exercised that right. I exercised it with the strong belief that at that moment of conflict, it was a struggle between the Puerto Rican people and their enemy. And so I tried to defend my home, at that moment in my mind, as a symbol of all Puerto Rican homes. It was not an individual gesture. It was a collective gesture—a gesture of the people.

Now, faced with the possibility that I would return to my homeland and be with you to continue our struggle, the government has decided to bring new charges against me. But they committed a serious error. They have committed an error because the only criminals here are the FBI. It will be the FBI that will be forced to answer for their crimes against our people, just as it will be our people who, in the end, will be victorious.

Here in Puerto Rico, the FBI represents abuse, constant intimidation and persecution of the pro-independence sector; conspirators that have planned actions like that of the infamous González Malave, placing bombs in post offices and then covering up the facts at Cerro Maravilla. Criminals who create subversive lists and carry out sinister operations like the disgusting program of defamation and aggression that operates under the name of COINTELPRO against the Puerto Rican patriotic movement. The masterminds and organizers behind the terrorist bands composed of counter-revolutionary Cubans like those who today publish the sleazy magazine called ***Crónica*** and whose editors and publishers are terrorists, enemies of our Puerto Rican homeland who we will one day throw into a pile of human excrement where they belong.

And it will be the FBI that will be forced to answer for their crimes against our people, just as it will be our people who, in the end, will be victorious.

No, compatriots, I will not be going to trial. They will be the ones on trial and our people will be the judge, but not in court. Our people will judge them, must judge them in the streets. The courts are theirs, that much is true, but the streets belong to us.

Fellow countrymen: today, September 23, 1988, we must all reiterate our commitment to the homeland, to our people, to this struggle.

Torturous days are ahead. Days in which our enemies will maneuver to fool us yet another time. It is up to us to stop them. This demands the unity and massification of our efforts. It also demands the firm demonstration, in practice, of our convictions. Reason is on our side. Truth is on our side. The history of our people's struggle like the Lares Uprising in 1868, points the way.

We **Macheteros** will march alongside our people, daily, until final victory is ours—and of that there can be no doubt.

Every Puerto Rican a Machetero!
Long Live our Imprisoned Combatants!
Long Live the Heroic Puerto Rican People!
Long Live a Free Puerto Rico!

LA PATRIA RADICAL
Official Organ of the
Movimiento de Liberación
Nacional Puertorriqueño (MLN)
PO Box 78279, Chicago, IL 60647



De Pie y En Lucha

Theoretical Organ of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueño (MLN)

October/November 1988

Developing a New Vision and Politics of Human Sexuality

This issue of ***De Pie y En Lucha*** *is dedicated to a discussion of our conception of human sexuality. Included herein is a speech by Bartolo Hernández de Jesús, a community activist and an active member of the Puerto Rican independence movement in New York City. He made this presentation during a May 1st celebration of International Workers Day, in the Puerto Rican community of Chicago on May 1, 1988. The other is an article by Lourdes Lugo in which she discusses her view of human sexuality and how it is interwoven with the changes in the socio-economic order and how we must begin to evolve a more human, more affective view of sexuality.*

To begin to put into practice some of our theoretical perspectives on human sexuality and the AIDS epidemic, the members of the **MLN**, *along with other activists are organizing a pilot project in Chicago: VIDA/SIDA. This project is being organized with the intention of providing real human alternatives to the problem of AIDS in the Puerto Rican community. VIDA/SIDA is premised on the philosophy that to combat AIDS in the Puerto Rican community, it is imperative to deal with the problems of drugs and gangs; sexual prejudices and to challenge and change our sexual behavior to prevent the spread of AIDS. Its motto is—the new life begins with the new person.*

In the coming months, the **MLN** *will also be sponsoring a Northeast regional meeting of latino gay/lesbian activists to discuss the question of gay liberation and the struggle for Puerto Rican liberation*

...In the 21st Century, no revolution will take place without the participation of all of society including the lesbian and gay sectors.

—Bartolo Hernández de Jesús

I would like to begin my presentation in this important and serious effort to address the issue of AIDS in the communities of people of color—of Puerto Ricans, Black Americans and Mexicans—by thanking the First Congregational Church of Chicago, VIDA/SIDA, the Kupona Network and C-FAR for inviting me to speak here today.

It comes as no surprise that this day, International Workers' Day, would be a fitting day to bring people together to begin an honest dialogue to examine the AIDS crisis and its genocidal effects on our communities. I do not use the term genocide loosely, nor do I intend to introduce an alarmist rhetoric. However, I would like to share some statistics with you that may at first appear unrelated. As I continue, however, the connection will become evident.

In 1985, the US Department of Labor stated in their economic report that 50% of all black youth had no hope of acquiring employment in the coming decade. According to a report published in the July, 1988 edition of the *New York Times*, 80% of all women and children who have AIDS in the US are located in New York City. But worse yet, they are concentrated in a single section of the city called the South Bronx. We all know who lives in the South Bronx—Blacks and Puerto Ricans. AIDS is the number one killer of women between the ages of 18 to 35 in our communities,. A woman who is infected with the HIV virus could represent a generation of Blacks or Puerto Ricans that will not be born. Question: is AIDS designed to eliminate the economic crisis which is facing the US and to permit the control of people of color? Could the neglect of Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans and Mexicans with AIDS be a more-than-coincidental attack on those of us who have always been considered "dangerous" because we organize and fight for a decent environment and the pursuit of happiness?

We must declare war on the effects of AIDS on our communities. I believe that ignorance is a powerful enemy. However, our worst enemy is not a lack of information, it is misinformation. This enemy is developed and nurtured by the enemy of humanity, US imperialism, through the use of government and media hysteria. Once and for always, I woul like to dispell some myths that the media continues to perpetuate as facts.

1. AIDS is a homosexual disease. That's a lie!
2. AIDS solely affects white, middle-class gay men. That's another lie!
3. AIDS came from some monkey in Africa. This is a racist lie that somewhere in Africa, an African man had sex, danced, touched, bit or did something with a monkey. This lie comes from the same kind of mentality that perpetuates sick jokes about European shepherds and their sheep.
4. AIDS solely affects three groups: Haitians, gays and intravenous drug users. This is a lie! We must stop talking about risk groups and begin to talk about risk behavior.

This war on AIDS must be waged from a revolutionary perspective, because the government and the power structure foment fascist policies in their so-called efforts to deal with this crisis, such as mandatory testing and internment for people with AIDS. We must never forget the Trail of Tears, where thousands of Native American people were forcibly removed from their lands, walked across five states and were given blankets contaminated with the smallpox germ. Thousands died since they had no immunity to the germ. We must never forget the 200 Black men in Tuskeegee, Alabama who were infected with syphillis. They were given placebos (plain sugar pills), told they were cured and sent home to die. Let us never forget the hundreds of Puerto Rican women who were given the birth control pill in Puerto Rico when the pill was still illegal and considered unsafe in the US. Today Puerto Rico has the highest rate of cervical cancer in the world. We must not forget the illegal

Towards a New Conception of Human Sexuality

—Lourdes Lugo

Our conception of sexuality and human sexual behavior must keep pace with the advent of a new economic, political and social order—the future upheaval of capitalism and the development of a socialist state.

Sexual polemics emerged with the very development of capitalism, while the emergence of the working class began the disintegration of the family as a unit. The need for every family member to find work made each person more independent from the others and lessened the importance of the family as an economic and affective unit. As capitalism developed, sexual themes began to emerge more and more. Although there were organized struggles around sexuality by women in the early 19th Century and by homosexuals in the latter part of that Century, the highpoint of the sexuality issue took place after the Second World War. Although homosexuality had emerged as an identifiable life orientation before, it was during this period that the quest for sexual identity became a widespread issue. The gay community began to recognize itself and demand its rights due to the division of the sexes that occurred during the Second World War. Due to society's patriarchal tendencies, it was the male homosexual and not the lesbian community that had the economic and social power to first raise the issue of gay rights. The lesbian community, still relegated to obscurity and often tied to the tasks of single motherhood, would not organize itself with the same intensity until the upsurge of women's activism in the late 60's. With the organization of the gay community came an onslaught of repression by the traditional social institutions, in a collective attack against homosexuality, the government, church groups, private industry, the armed forces, etc. and sadly—the left opposition, crassly attacked the right to sexual self-determination. This in turn paved the way for the gay rights struggles that peaked during the decades of the 60's and 70's.

Now in the 1980's, we have again seen the emergence of a serious attack against the gay and lesbian communities. The government's goal of returning to the establishment of the family and other long-ago dead feudal values is spearheaded by an attack against the communities that have struggled for their sexual self-determination. Puritanical hypocrites have used the AIDS epidemic against both gay men and the lesbian community in a most inhuman way to reaffirm their belief that non-heterosexual practices are dangerous. What should our position be and how do we see the future of human sexuality?

In order to answer the first half of our question, we must make an individual as well as a collective decision about our feelings toward sexual self-determination. How can we deal

IN THE 21ST CENTURY...

sterilization programs that took place in our communities and still take place in Puerto Rico. At present, Puerto Rico has the highest percentage of sterilized women of child-bearing age in the world. These facts should help us put into perspective the use of viruses and medical procedures to oppress our people.

We must not ignore the political dimensions that the HIV virus and AIDS have for our communities. We can not and must not separate the battle against AIDS from the struggle of colonized people in the US and their war for liberation. AIDS is being used to intimidate, control and destroy our people. If you doubt this, let me share some more unsettling data. In New York City, the largest number of people dying from AIDS are now estimated by the City Health Department to be intravenous drug users. Who are the drug users in Chicago? They are the same as the people in New York, mostly Black and Latino men and women.

Having discussed views on the conditions and effects of the AIDS crisis in our communities, I would like to address the Latino and Black gay men and lesbians in the audience and share some of my opinions about what our role should be in this war against AIDS. But first let me inform you of a not-so-well-kept secret. I am a Puerto Rican and I am also gay and proud of my complete identity, as an *independentista* first and as a gay man second. However, I am proud of my sexual orientation only after many years of hating myself because an oppressive society conditioned me to accept self-hate and to internalize my oppression.

Since I am gay, I feel it is my responsibility to address the issues of Black and Latino gays and our role in the redemption of humanity. I am a male, but I think this issue is important to lesbians too. AIDS has transformed our lives. It has made us re-evaluate our lifestyles and reaffirm our sexual orientation. However, it has also opened a window for a true and redeeming integration into our communities. There is a gay organization in New York called the Gay Men's Health Crisis Center. That organization has just received all the funding available from the State of New York for AIDS. On the surface, this may appear as a good thing, but good for whom? This organization has done an incredible job within the gay white, middle-class. However, they have refused to hire Spanish-speaking staff or volunteers. They have treated Spanish-speaking callers in a rude and racist manner. This has been an ongoing battle between Latino gays and GMHC. Does this surprise you? It did not surprise me, and —in all honesty—it should not surprise you. Are we so naive as to think that gayness magically eliminates racism and classist attitudes and behavior? Since when has anyone, in government or in private groups, supported decent healthcare of any kind for Puerto Ricans, Blacks, Native Americans and Mexicans?

The only thing I, a Puerto Rican gay man, have in common with a white middle-class gay man, is the same thing a Black or Puerto Rican heterosexual has with a white middle-class heterosexual—our sexual orientation. This can serve as a link of genuine solidarity, where we struggle together against a common enemy, or it can be one more basis for racism. I have learned through experience that gay society is merely a reflection of heterosexual society.

Today the number of male prostitutes in New York has skyrocketed. Black and Latino men comprise the highest numbers of hustlers, and who knows how many are HIV-infected. Worst of all, ***ABC News*** reported that a third are under 17 years of age. And who do you think are the johns?

My experience leads me to conclude that the liberation of Black and Latino gays does not lie with the struggle for "civil rights." It is not feasible in the middle-class gay movement. Did the women's movement liberate Black and Latino working women? Did it achieve the liberation of any women? Ask our straight comrades if Blacks and Puerto Ricans have jobs, decent housing and enjoy a just society.

Struggle around my sexuality will not obscure the color of my skin, my accent or my nationality. My liberation is integrally tied to—no, not tied to, but a part of me as my arm is a part of me—the struggle for independence for the nation of Puerto Rico. We must combat homophobia among our people through our example. We must take our place in the making of history and in the redemption of humanity. We will make them understand that in the 21st Century, no revolution will take place without the participation of all sectors of society, including the lesbian and gay sectors. Besides, history has shown that lesbians and gay men have led armies and conquered their enemies; for example, the Amazons and Alexander the Great.

The AIDS crisis is an urgent call to begin a process of self-liberation. Coming out of the closet is merely the first step. We must examine our internalized oppression, first as people of color and then as gays and lesbians.

We need money for a cure and for effective treatments for our people suffering from AIDS. But we must be careful when demanding money for research. Money for AIDS research has already become a source of profit. No cure will be found while AIDS makes money for researchers and drug companies. The Trail of Tears, the Holocaust and the hundreds of years of genocidal policies against Black Americans will be child's play in comparison to the number of people of color who will die by the 21st Century. In our communities, how many people with AIDS can afford to be treated with AZT? Even an effective treatment—and AZT is not so effective—may take a long time before it reaches those poor junkies and queers, and who cares? Well, we care! We must care because those junkies, those intravenous drug users, are the victims of an oppressive and exploitable profit-oriented society. Those queers, those gay men, are sons, brothers, uncles and yes, fathers. The redemption of humanity requires war on the effects of AIDS, war on poverty, war on oppression, war on homophobia and war against exploitation. But most of all, it requires a revolution. AIDS now presents the catalyst that will unite gay and straight people to wage wars of liberation on US imperialism. Loving, caring and revolutionary morals will lead us to the creation of a society where different sexual orientation will perhaps be like being left-handed. The AIDS crisis will be another episode in the annals of atrocities perpetrated by the enemy of humanity. However, this atrocity can and will be defeated by the people.

MLN Program on Sexuality

During its First Congress, the **MLN** *adopted the following resolution concerning human sexuality and the problem of AIDS, thus becoming the first Latin American revolutionary organization to take such a stance.*

Sexuality is part of our human feeling and identity, and therefore plays a very important role in our lives. We must begin to feel free to express our sexuality without feeling oppressed by the negative impositions laid down by the society in which we live. We must develop a positive vision of sexuality in all of its aspects, as an organization, guaranteeing that each individual feels likewise. We are the first to make sexuality part of a political program. The details, the battles and struggles to come will be part of our effort to advance certain ideas that until today had been kept hidden in a forgotten trunk. If we take sexuality and patriarchism as part of the same problem and contradictions inherited from the ruling system, then we shall tackle these in the same manner that we tackle individualism, etc.

Because of this neither patriarchal tendencies nor sexual preferences should be operational factors in the acceptance of anyone into membership to our organization. We must add one special note here concerning AIDS. AIDS is a virus that can infect and kill regardless of nationality, race, sex, or sexual preference. But AIDS is still mistakenly regarded as a "gay" disease (said to be a product of decadent lifestyles under capitalism) and is being used as a new justification for the oppression of homosexuality.

We strongly disagree. AIDS is attacking the Puerto Rican nation in disproportionately high numbers. We must not let prejudice stand in the way of seeking a solution to the problem or supporting those who are suffering from it.

The US capitalist state uses AIDS as a way to combat sexual liberation and human liberation gains over the last two decades. It has become an instrument of propaganda for sexual repression, both heterosexual and homosexual. It is up to all of us to expose this policy, separate the facts from the lies, and oppose a return to bourgeois morality and repression.

HUMAN SEXUALITY...

with our phobias, preoccupations and questions in a scientific and human manner that will help us accept each individual's decision? First, we must understand the need to respect the individual's decision whatever it may be. We must learn to accept that all sexual behavior is normal and human as long as it is neither abusive non repressive. We all have the option, the right and the responsibility to change our sexual preference and orientation as befits our situation. Once we have made our decision or accepted our sexual orientation by "coming out", then we can assume a position against the growing wave of repression aimed at our sexual rights. If we are true human beings, then we know that our position must be to struggle to guarantee the right to individual sexual self-determination as well as that of the organizations that have long struggled for that right.

The second half of our question refers to our view of the future. Where do we go from here? The struggle for sexual self-determination is in itself a struggle for the control of our bodies. To achieve this control we must break with the ideologies and characterization that enslave the current social order. We must stop pigeon-holing people and placing labels on them. We must break with the labels of whether we are homosexual, heterosexual or bi-sexual and instead affirm our humanity. This is the trail we must blaze—to become complete human beings independent of our sexual orientation.

The revolutionary contribution of the gay and lesbian movement has been to redefine the expectations of what men and women are supposed to be.

They have opened a new dimension as to how human beings must relate to each other outside of ideological expectations of reproduction.

The gay and lesbian movement cannot be seen simply as a movement for civil rights, but as a step forward in the process of the liberation of human beings.

